

Localizing the Korean war

From the moment the North Korean army launched its attack on South Korea on Sunday morning, June 25, the United States and the United Nations have been at great pains to try to keep the conflict from spreading. This was President Truman's purpose when he ordered the Seventh Fleet of the U.S. Navy to "neutralize" Formosa. Secretary of State Acheson on August 30 made it very clear that the United States would do everything it could to avoid conflict with Communist China. To Peiping's charges that U.S. fighter planes had strafed Manchurian territory we have replied that it was "possible" this mistake had occurred. In the UN we suggested that the charge be investigated under UN auspices. If found to be true, we would make restitution and take "disciplinary" action against those responsible. Russia, meanwhile, has been at pains to embroil us with Communist China. Reports of the massing of Chinese Communist troops on the southern borders of Manchuria have accentuated the fear that Peiping is ready to serve as Moscow's tool in spreading the Korean war. Chou En-lai, Chinese Communist Foreign Minister, played Russia's game when he complained to the UN Security Council on August 29 about U.S. "aggression" against Formosa. Jacob A. Malik, Soviet delegate and then President of the Council, exploited this maneuver by abruptly proposing an immediate invitation to Communist China to attend meetings when the Formosan question (put before the UN by the United States) would be discussed. When Senator Austin, U.S. delegate, and Dr. T. F. Tsiang, Chinese Nationalist delegate, objected, Malik decided that his "ruling" had been challenged and called for an immediate vote—without debate. This "ruling" passed. Russia's determination to cause trouble between the United States and Red China on the Formosan question, instead of letting the UN make an independent investigation, issued in another tactical victory. No one knows where it will end.

Drafting of fathers

President Truman, in his "fireside chat" of September 1, announced that we would have to increase our armed strength from the 1.5 million men settled upon after World War II to 3 million. The day before, Congress prepared the way for the induction of fathers by passing a new family-allotments act. In trying to meet the needs of the armed services, Selective Service has been restricted to the 19-25 age group, and has had to pass over veterans of the last war. It has run into a pool of 650,000 family men in the 19-25-year-old bracket who have so far been deferred by draft boards on account of their dependents. The passage of the family-allotments act will now let Selective Service dip into this manpower pool. Reflecting the postwar inflation, Congress has considerably raised the allowances over those granted in World War II. For privates and privates first-class, the measure allows \$85 a month for a wife or dependent parent, \$107.50 for two dependents and \$125 for three or more. These figures include contributions deducted from the serviceman's pay. Congress decided that non-commissioned officers had already received a sufficient increase in pay under the Career Pay Act of 1949 to provide for

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the support of their dependents. One of the tragedies of war is the necessity of taking young heads of families out of civilian life. Yet it is only reasonable that they should be drafted in preference to men who served in the last war. Congress has made no special provision for draftees with more than three dependents. Draft boards are therefore deferring such men, according to what seems to be national policy. We sincerely hope that Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service now as he was during World War II, will avoid the uncertainties prevalent during the last war about the Government's plans with regard to the drafting of fathers.

Auto wages and the cost of living

Nothing illustrates quite so graphically the immorality and economic madness of the Korean-war price increases as the workings of the wage formula in General Motors' contract with the United Auto Workers. In order to protect the living standards of GM employes, that contract ties wages to the cost of living. When the consumers' price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics spurted upward in July and August, the corporation accordingly granted a compensatory wage increase. The inevitable result was an avalanche of wage hikes throughout the auto industry. With the labor market tightening, GM's competitors couldn't afford to be caught with disgruntled work forces. In normal times, there can be no objection, on either moral or economic grounds, to a wage policy which so obviously protects the buying power of the auto worker's dollar. But these are not normal times. Right now an industry-wide wage increase only fans the flames of inflation, which are certain to burn all those living on fixed incomes and add enormously to the cost of the war. The security rightly granted to the auto workers thus menaces the security of millions of others. For this unforeseen development, no blame attaches to General Motors for granting such a contract to the United Auto Workers. The responsibility lies with the chiseling, profiteering businessmen, the speculators and large-scale farmers who, seeing in the Korean war a chance to make a fast and greedy dollar, boosted prices with no justification whatsoever.

Excess profits tax?

What happened to auto wages last month would seem at first glance to support one of the arguments used by Senator George (D., Ga.), chairman of the Senate Finance

Committee, against passing an excess profits tax at this time. The Senator has ably argued that an excess profits tax *unaccompanied by stiff wage and price controls* would be dangerously inflationary. It would tempt businessmen to grant big wage increases for the asking and to pass along the added costs to consumers in the form of higher prices. It is significant, however, that so far no major auto producer has announced an increase on the price of his product, even though many people are willing at the moment to pay through the nose for a new car. We find it difficult to share the Senator's low estimate of the businessman's sense of responsibility. The other big argument against an excess profits tax at this time, namely, that such a tax is too complex for quick decision, leaves us cold. Many of the present members of Congress had a hand in writing the World War II tax, which worked reasonably well, and surely cannot have so quickly forgotten that experience. On the other hand, the moral argument for an excess profits tax in wartime is overwhelming. Even the most callous citizen revolts against the idea that anyone should be permitted to reap abnormal profits from the blood and broken bodies of our soldiers in Korea. The Senate has agreed to pass an excess profits tax next year, retroactive to the last quarter or second half of this year. Though that is a solemn commitment, it does not satisfy those who believe that the tax should be put on the books now.

Congressional action against Communists

The Democratic leadership in Congress, which has hitherto been able to bottle up in committee anti-Communist legislation that it considered too drastic, found congressmen getting out of hand last week. Spurred on, no doubt, by pressures from constituents angered by the war in Korea, recent atomic-spy arrests and the mad month of Malik at the UN, the House, on August 29, passed by a 354-20 vote the bill (HR 9490) sponsored by John S. Wood (D., Ga.), rejecting the less stringent proposals advanced by the Administration. The Wood bill is substantially the same as the Senate Mundt-Ferguson bill, described in our issue of August 12 (pp. 488-490). The Senate last week debated no less than four bills to restrict Communists: the comparatively mild Administration bill (S.4061), the Mundt-Ferguson bill (S.2311),

the Wood bill, and the very much tougher measure (S.4037) sponsored by Democratic Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada (cf. AM. 9/2, p. 549). The McCarran bill embodies the substance of the Mundt-Ferguson bill, and in addition provides for the exclusion or expulsion of subversive aliens, and the supervision and detention of undesirable but non-deportable aliens. The Senate began discussion of this bill on September 6. Congress is at the moment in no mood to be tender with the Communists. Representative E. E. Cox (D., Ga.) said of the Wood bill on August 24 that it wasn't tough enough but that "it is probably as far as we can go and stay within the limits of the Constitution." Senator Harley M. Kilgore (D., W. Va.) said on September 2 that he was drafting a bill to give the FBI emergency powers to intern all Communists. An unnamed Republican Senator was quoted on August 26 by the *New York Times* as saying that he thought proposals to outlaw Communists were unconstitutional, but that in view of the present temper of the country he was not prepared to stand up in public and say so. Congress will probably end by passing a stiff anti-Communist bill along Mundt-Ferguson-Wood lines, with some McCarran insertions.

Negroes in Southern colleges

As the new school year opens, the University of Virginia has become the latest State University in the South to feel the effects of the June 5 anti-segregation decision of the U.S. Supreme Court (AM. 6/17, pp. 505, 508). The University of Virginia had denied admission to its law school to Gregory Swanson, a Negro attorney, to do graduate work. On September 5 a three-man Federal Court in Charlottesville unanimously ordered his admission and enjoined the University to pay the costs of the legal action. The State's Attorney General had conceded that the University had no defense in the light of the Supreme Court's rulings. The University of Texas has had to admit a Negro, Herman M. Sweatt, to its law school because it was he who won out in the nation's highest tribunal three months ago. As things stand today in State colleges in the South, there are only four States in which no Negro has as yet applied for admission to tax-supported institutions of higher learning—Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee. Of the others, Kentucky has done the most to accept both the letter and the spirit of recent judicial decisions. Negroes are enrolled at the University of Kentucky and the University of Louisville. The Negro branch of the urban university, Louisville Municipal College, will close in June, 1951. In North Carolina, Louisiana and Florida, Negroes have filed suits to gain admission to State law schools. In Maryland a Negro has filed suit to be admitted to the State University's School of Nursing. In Maryland, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Missouri, Negroes are already attending State law schools. The Supreme Court has not, it is true, explicitly reversed its old rule sanctioning "separate but equal" educational facilities for Negroes in State colleges. Instead, it has laid such stress on the "equal" requirements that Southern States can fulfill it only by admitting Negroes to the hitherto "white" State colleges.

AMERICA—National Catholic Weekly Review—Edited and published by the following Jesuit Fathers of the United States:

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Nehru gets in trouble at home

Last week we pointed out (p. 571) that India's Prime Minister had weakened his international prestige by his attitude toward Pakistan in the Kashmir dispute. It has since become evident that the impasse over the future of the little state has impaired his prestige at home. For, while struggling with the problems affecting India's relations with East and West, Pandit Nehru has fallen out of the frying pan of international politics into a fire raging in his own party. On September 2 the Congress party headquarters announced the results of an election for the party's presidency. Nehru's candidate lost. Purshottamdas Tandon, an outspoken critic of Nehru's foreign and domestic policy, received more than 50 per cent of the votes. Tandon's election is not likely to lead to a major political crisis in India. Yet the results of the election give evidence that there is stress and strain in the Congress party. It is not only improbable that the Prime Minister will be able to work smoothly in the high councils of the party, but the political organization will be divided into two powerful blocs. For the winning candidate was the choice of Sardar Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister. Nehru's loss of prestige in domestic politics has been due to the Kashmir and Bengal issues (see AM., 8/9, p. 571; 4/22, p. 76). Tandon has stood for the hard-fisted treatment of Pakistan that Pandit Nehru has always contended would lead to war with the neighboring state. Despite Nehru's efforts, the Kashmir dispute has continued for three years and there is no hope of an immediate meeting of minds between India and Pakistan on the subject. In the meantime their two armies face each other across an uneasy cease-fire line determined by the UN. Congress party members are also beginning to question the success of the Bengal minorities pact of last April. Hindu refugees still pour into West Bengal from East Pakistan at the rate of thousands monthly. Though the blame for the Indo-Pakistan stalemate may not be entirely Nehru's, the popularity of the Prime Minister seems to be on the wane.

St. Laurent surmounts crisis

Last week Canada's Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent could relax. He had successfully outsailed the stiffest gale in his whole political career. Parliament had recessed on June 30, leaving the cabinet with the task of blueprinting possible new defense and economy measures. But by mid-July two ugly black clouds appeared: the demand for ground forces for Korea and the imminent threat of a nation-wide rail strike. The proposed Korea brigade, much more popular among English-speaking Canadians than among the French, looked like a new monkey wrench in the machinery of national unity. But Mr. St. Laurent and his cabinet side-stepped nicely by merely inaugurating volunteer facilities and leaving the ratification of the move to Parliament when it should reassemble. The rail strike was more serious. On August 22 some 124,000 of the non-operating employes went on strike. Canada's two big lines, the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific, were completely crippled. They laid off 25,000 non-striking employes and by the week's end nearly 20,000 more were out of work as a result of the tie-up. When negotiations

between the companies and the unions and even the intervention of a Government-appointed mediator had failed, the Prime Minister called an emergency session of Parliament to pass back-to-work legislation. The unions, asking a forty-hour week and a raise in pay, were ordered back to work by the Government on August 30 and given thirty days to negotiate their differences. The Prime Minister, who will round out his second year in office in mid-November, thus succeeded in surmounting the most menacing crisis he has faced so far.

Morality in public life

It is interesting—and highly instructive—to notice what issues the Catholic bishops of different countries single out for extended treatment in their pastoral letters. As they have done before ("Australian bishops on socialism," Benjamin L. Masse, AM. 3/19/49, pp. 650-2; 3/26/49, pp. 681-2), the bishops of Australia have again addressed themselves to a troublesome issue and have done so very vigorously. On Sunday, September 3, they distributed in all the churches of their country a pastoral letter, in pamphlet form, on *Morality in Public Life*. As every one must be, the bishops are impressed with the power exercised by the huge organizations which have grown up in the political, economic and social areas of human life in this century. "Sin has been elevated to the level of a policy," they declare, "in certain organizations whose acts dominate the lives of entire communities." The bishops insist—and how profoundly this truth calls for insistence—that the laws of morality control the conduct of men acting in association just as strictly as they control the private conduct of individuals. There is no double standard of right and wrong—one for individuals and another for men joined together in huge organizations. In regard to politics, the bishops condemn as a "grave wrong" the fomenting of hatred of other peoples and races and the taking of bribes. Moreover, they charge the individual citizen with the responsibility of using his political rights, not only through elections but through "all legitimate means," to uproot corruption in government. They charge all members of employers', workers' and farmers' associations, as well as leaders in them, with the responsibility of taking positive action to see that the policies of such organizations conform to Christian moral standards. The full text of this important document will appear in the *Catholic Mind* for October.

Associate editor answers call

The Korean war has reached the editorial offices of AMERICA in a very concrete way. Rev. Francis J. Tierney, S.J., associate editor, has been called into active service with his reserve unit. In World War II, Fr. Tierney rose to the rank of captain in the Chaplains' Corps. Since he had previously specialized in Spanish literature, on coming to AMERICA a year ago he was assigned to take charge of our Spanish and Latin American departments, and he undertook graduate studies to prepare himself for a journalistic career in this field. Our prayers and those of our readers are with him in his new call to duty. May God grant him an early and safe return.

WASHINGTON FRONT

The politicians have drawn a bead on October 15 as the date on which it will be possible to make a judgment as to whether this is to be a Democratic or a Republican year. Anticipating that the war will dominate all other issues, they say that the location of the Korean battle line around that date will set the mold for voting in November. Will the Communists still be pushing us around or will we have made a real start toward driving them back northward toward the Thirty-eighth Parallel? That is the question.

But if it will be more than a month before it will become possible to size up election prospects, it is early enough to see a number of lesser indicators which seem to represent political liabilities for the Democrats. The latest is President Truman's *gaucherie* in deriding the Marine Corps, an action suggesting that although the Commander-in-Chief can order everyone else to pipe down on ill-considered or insubordinate trumpetings, apparently there is no one to command the C-in-C.

Before this there were the statements of Navy Secretary Matthews and Gen. MacArthur, jarring against official policy and giving the appearance of a topside riding-off in all directions. And there is the continuing pressure against Cabinet Members Acheson and Johnson—political, it is true, in so far as it comes from some Republican politicians. But a check of White House or congressional mail will show quickly that a lot of just plain folks think these men have done their jobs badly.

Domestic issues, unless the war takes a sharp turn for the worse or breaks out somewhere else and forces full mobilization and imposition of drastic economic controls, will count little this fall. Brannan will be only the name of a glazed-domed Cabinet member and not the label on a Plan. Taft-Hartley talk may stir some union political action, but even labor's political leaders have recognized for some time that the issue no longer is sharp in terms of votes out across the country. This does not say at all that Democrats cannot point to fulfillment of a good number of Truman pledges of 1948 — but again, war drums will beat out the tune of the election.

The off-presidential year in national voting often means bad news for Democrats. The Republicans are supposed to be able to turn out a higher proportion of their vote in the year when there is no test of personalities involving the Presidency, which of itself jogs people to the polls. Four years ago the GOP rode to congressional power on a coast-to-coast wail about OPA controls, and in the 1942 and in 1938 off-year contests they also made big gains over the Democrats.

So there's a glimmer of hope among GOP leaders that maybe the Promised Land is just beyond November 7. But no matter what the indications are now, the capacity of the Republican party for flubbing an election should not be underestimated.

CHARLES LUCEY

UNDERSCORINGS

At Levis, Quebec, on September 1, delegates from Belgium, Norway, Holland, France, Italy and Haiti as well as from the United States and Canada celebrated the jubilee of the founding of the first credit union in North America. It was begun there on December 6, 1900. Eminent speakers at the function included Most Rev. Maurice Roy, Archbishop of Quebec, and Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent.

► Most Rev. Aloysius J. Muench, Bishop of Fargo in North Dakota, and regent of the Apostolic Nunciature in Germany, has recently brought seven DP priests, exiles from their own Communist-dominated countries, into his own diocese to relieve the great need of priests in that State . . . Archbishop Leo Binz, Coadjutor of Dubuque, in a pastoral letter, urged the Catholics of the diocese to cooperate more generously in the placing and settlement of DP's. "There is no greater act of charity," he said, "than, in the words of Christ, 'to harbor the harborless.'"

► In New Orleans, Most Rev. Joseph F. Rummel, Archbishop of that diocese, announced on September 1 the appointment of Rev. Anthony C. O'Flynn, S.J., as chaplain of the Southeastern region of the National Federation of Catholic College Students. Fr. O'Flynn is dean of men at Loyola University of the South.

► Early in August the right of Mr. Gordon Anderson to become a member of the Australian Parliament was challenged on the ground that, as a Catholic, he was a subject of a foreign power. Mr. Anderson's appeal in the High Court of Australia was upheld by Mr. Justice Fullager. The challenger, Henry William Crittenden, a Sydney publication distributor, not only lost his case but was forced to pay court costs.

► At the Stritch School of Medicine of Loyola University, Chicago, construction has started on new cancer-research facilities made possible by a \$47,000 grant from the United States Public Health Service. Improvements include a radio-isotope cancer laboratory, a protein enzyme laboratory and a 250-volt deep x-ray unit.

► Msgr. Merlin J. Guilfoyle, Assistant Chancellor of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, has been named to be Titular Bishop of Bulla and Auxiliary to the Most Rev. John J. Mitty, Archbishop of San Francisco. Bishop-elect Guilfoyle was born and educated in San Francisco and took his doctorate in Canon Law at the Catholic University of America in Washington. He was created a domestic prelate on July 17, 1949.

► The Catholic Classical Association of Greater New York has just published the summer issue of its quarterly organ, *Folia*. The issue contains scholarly studies of collected source material on fourth-century Spain. Publication costs, however, are a serious obstacle to such a valuable enterprise. Anyone desiring to help should get in touch with the Rev. Francis Glimm at the Immaculate Conception Seminary, Huntington, N. Y.

D. F.

Korea—dispute or aggression?

When Sir Gladwyn Jebb, the Delegate of the United Kingdom, assumed his seat as President of the UN Security Council on September 1, the members were finally able to get around to their unfinished business of June 25. On that date the Council had decided to invite the representative of South Korea, Dr. John Chang, to present his Government's case against the North Koreans. For the entire month of August, however, Dr. Chang had sat on the sidelines while Jacob A. Malik, Soviet Delegate and then President of the Council, refused to give a ruling on the June 25 resolution unless it included a similar invitation to a representative from North Korea. On September 1, divested of his authority as President, the Soviet Delegate continued his filibuster.

Malik contended that *all states* who happened to be parties to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council should be invited to participate without vote in the discussions, according to Chapter VI, Article 32 of the UN Charter. He further called on precedent to bolster his contention. In the Indonesian conflict, in the Kashmir dispute and during consideration of the Palestine question, the Soviet Delegate maintained, both parties were invited to express their views before the Security Council. In the present case, Malik argued, the United States actually a Council member, is the "aggressor," while the representative of the North Korean Government, against which the United States launched its "aggression," is refused an invitation to the Council meetings, a procedure which distorts the provisions of the Charter.

The point at issue, as it was subsequently clarified by Sir Benegal Rau, the Indian Delegate, is whether the Korean War should be treated in the UN Security Council according to the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter, which concerns "disputes" among nations, or according to Chapter VII, which concerns "acts of aggression."

In their volume, *Charter of the United Nations*, Leland M. Goodrich and Edvard Hambro thus define "dispute" in the sense in which it is used in Chapter VI:

A dispute can be properly considered as a disagreement between two or more states which has reached a stage where the parties have formulated claims and counterclaims sufficiently definite to be passed upon by a court or other political body set up for the purposes of particular settlement.

Commenting on Article 33, they add:

The parties presumably have obligated themselves not to resort to force or the threat of force . . . However, it must be admitted that disputes can become so persistent and so bitter that . . . they may permit states acting in good faith to become involved in a series of events which lead to the use of force without either party's initially desiring it.

In the Kashmir dispute, the Indonesian conflict and the Palestine question an identical pattern could be traced—dispute followed by violence because of the unbearable situation.

The Korean "incident" is not of the same stamp. South Koreans living close to the Thirty-eighth Parallel were

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abruptly awakened three months ago to the whine and spat of unprovoked bullets. There had been no previous "dispute" in the sense in which the Charter uses the term. The Council, therefore, has acted according to the provisions of Chapter VII, Article 39 of the Charter:

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and shall make recommendations or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 41 concerns the use of economic sanctions against the offending party. If, however, the Council should feel that economic sanctions would be ineffectual, then, according to Article 42, it may maintain "international security" by "blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of Members of the United Nations."

The UN Security Council, without specifically saying so, has obviously dealt with Korea under Article VII. That it properly did so became undeniable on September 4 when the UN Commission on Korea reported from Pusan that it was informing the General Assembly of its findings. These branded the Communists as the aggressors.

Sign up for freedom

During the next five weeks millions of Americans will be asked to add their names to a manifesto—a manifesto of American inspiration but of world-wide significance. It is called the "Freedom Scroll"—a document destined to be permanently enshrined in the base of the Freedom Bell which will be dedicated and hung in Berlin on October 24, United Nations Day. The Freedom Bell will ring out from beleaguered Berlin as a booming symbol of freedom and hope to the peoples enslaved by the Soviets.

The Freedom Scroll is part of the educational and fund-raising campaign of the Crusade for Freedom that has as its National Chairman General Lucius D. Clay. Volunteers are needed to gather signatures for the Freedom Scroll in homes and stores and factories, signatures by the millions to refute the Soviet Big Lie that American foreign policy reflects merely the dark designs of our supposed "ruling classes" and has no popular support. Catholics in America have a chance to match the zeal of the promoters of the phoney Communist-inspired Stockholm "Peace Appeal." Voluntary contributions, great and small, will go to expand Radio Free Europe, a transmitter challenging Communist calumnies in six languages.

The Crusade for Freedom is a campaign to publicize the activities of the National Committee for Free Europe,

editorially endorsed by AMERICA when it was announced last year. A quasi-private, quasi-public organization, the Free Europe Committee has bungled many of its possibilities. Its officers, for example, have been dismayingly slow in realizing that in Eastern and Central Europe they are dealing with peoples whose culture is rooted in religion and, in large measure, shaped by Catholicism.

The rectifiable ineptness of the Free Europe Committee need not deter anyone from signing the Freedom Scroll, however. For you will be asked to lend your name to a declaration that says:

I believe in the sacredness and dignity of the individual.

I believe that all men derive the right to freedom equally from God.

I pledge to resist aggression and tyranny wherever they appear on earth.

That is a declaration to which every American can put his "John Hancock." Indeed, a famous American of that name, as President of the Continental Congress, once put his name to a similar declaration that affirmed similar propositions, for example, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these rights were life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. People are hanging by the thumbs in the damp cellars of secret police headquarters in lost cities behind the Iron Curtain today, tortured until they consent to deny publicly that freedom is the fruit of God's creation of man.

The Jean Muir case

A hot controversy has grown up over the abrupt dismissal, on August 27, of Miss Jean Muir from the Henry Aldrich radio program, sponsored over NBC by the General Foods Corporation. Miss Muir was dismissed in consequence of protests against her as a supporter of Communist fronts.

These protests were based on the listing of Miss Muir in a book called *Red Channels*, which gives the past or present Communist-front associations of 150 prominent figures in the entertainment world. *Red Channels* is published by the editors of *Counterattack*, an anti-Communist newsletter put out by former FBI men.

Miss Muir indignantly denied that she was a Communist or had any sympathy with communism. She was not a member, she said, of any of the eight Communist-front organizations listed against her name in *Red Channels*. She had been a member of two of them—the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Congress of American Women—but had resigned from both. General Foods took the stand that, irrespective of the truth or falsity of the charges, the protests had made Miss Muir a "controversial" person and one, therefore, unsuited to appear on a program designed to advertise their products.

To the *New York Times* and *Herald-Tribune*, as well as to the American Civil Liberties Union, the dismissal of Miss Muir assumed the aspect of a serious attack upon freedom of speech and reckless blasting of the actress' reputation.

One must admit that there is cause for alarm. If this

incident were to set off a wave of irresponsible charges by ill-informed people, great harm would be done to many innocent people. But the publishers of *Counterattack* and *Red Channels*, while doubtless fallible, have never appeared to us either ill-informed or irresponsible. They document their book from public records and sworn statements before investigating committees of the Congress and the California legislature. It is not their contention that all the people they list are sympathetic to communism. They are concerned to show how the Communists have used front organizations to get their hands upon the nation's radio, television, stage and screen.

Anyone who does not realize how eagerly the Communists have worked at infiltrating the entertainment world must plead "innocent" in more senses than one. The top figures in that world live very much in the public eye; publicity is their bread and butter. Knowing their own propaganda value, it was their business to be more than usually careful about their associations and their joinings, to keep their names off dubious letterheads. Fame has its obligations as well as its rewards.

Granted that some have become aware that they were being used by Communists, it would not seem to be enough simply to walk quietly away. Unspoken loyalty to democracy does not cancel the harm done by open espousal of undemocratic causes. The suspicion will remain until removed by an open, unequivocal act. Irwin Shaw, as Theophilus Lewis pointed out in his *Theatre* column (Am. 9/2, p. 564), performed such an act when he withdrew his play, *Bury the Dead*, from circulation.

And sponsors of radio and television programs—General Foods, for instance—have their own obligations to the nation. At a time when the United States is under fierce attack from communism, they have a duty to see to it that the vast sums they pour into programs are not used to harm the cause of all free men. No more than the actors and actresses can they afford to be "innocent." Innocence is not enough, when the shots fired in Korea may yet be heard round the world.

Too little and too late?

Exactly forty-three days after President Truman asked for special economic powers to deal with the Korean war, the Congress got around to passing the necessary legislation. As we go to press, it still hasn't approved the relatively modest increase in personal and corporation taxes—amounting to \$4.5 billion—which the Administration regards as an essential part of its economic mobilization program. This unwarranted delay has unquestionably given an added fillip to the already existing inflationary potential. The result can be seen already in the price-wage spiral of the past few weeks.

Even if the Congress had acted promptly, however, it is doubtful now whether the President's original program went far enough. At the time we thought it did. But two months ago there was no indication that the budget for the fiscal year 1951, which began last July 1, would call for expenditures of \$63 billion. As the "police action" in

Korea has developed into a small-scale war, as our military sights have been raised to cope with possible Soviet aggression elsewhere, the President has had to revise his estimates of defense spending. According to the latest plans, we shall spend no less than \$43 billion for defense and foreign military aid during the current fiscal year. If our economy is to assimilate that kind of spending without serious inflationary repercussions, we need more stringent controls and much heavier taxes than the Administration originally contemplated or appears to contemplate now.

If the Congress can be criticized for procrastination in dealing with economic mobilization, the President is open to censure for underestimating the magnitude of the problem which confronts him. When he sent his economic control program to Congress, some observers guessed that the request for power to ration scarce goods and impose wage and price controls was omitted in order to avoid a time-consuming controversy, and possibly a point-blank refusal. Now that the Congress has taken the initiative in giving the President this drastic authority, his seeming indisposition to use it shows that he really believes such controls are unnecessary. We hope that the President is right. The sharp rise in prices these past few weeks, however, and the resultant avalanche of wage increases certainly provide substantial grounds for doubting his analysis.

As for taxes, the President and the Congress are equally to blame for following a "soft" policy. We ought to be paying for this war as we go, not adding more billions to an already bloated public debt. Though it goes against the grain in Washington to raise taxes on the eve of an election, we believe that there would be very little political risk in a tough tax bill at this time. As our editors move about the country, they report that the people are deeply stirred by the events in Korea and by the sufferings of our boys there. They are in a mood to make whatever sacrifices are judged necessary to bring the Korean war to a speedy close and to arm the nation for whatever the uncertain future holds. If the voters take the view that politicians are failing to measure up to the dimensions of the present crisis, don't be surprised if this pusillanimity backfires next November.

UN failure on Jerusalem

When the United Nations' General Assembly convenes at Flushing Meadow on September 19, the delegates will encounter a familiar topic on the provisional agenda. Item 20 reads "The Internationalization of Jerusalem and the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees." "This," some Veteran Delegate will be thinking, "is where I came in."

If the Veteran Delegate's service goes back to 1947, he will recall that the British Government, pressured to desperation, asked the Secretary General of the United Nations to convoke a special session of the General Assembly to settle the Palestine problem. The Assembly which convened on April 28 of that year appointed an international "Special Committee on Palestine" to make recommenda-

tions, instructing it to give "most careful considerations to the religious interests of Islam, Judaism and Christianity." Out of the report of this Special Committee came the Resolution of the General Assembly, passed on November 29, 1947 by a vote of 33 to 13. The Resolution partitioned the Holy Land into a Jewish State, an Arab State and an internationalized City of Jerusalem, all three to be linked by an economic union. The UN Trusteeship Council was instructed to prepare a Statute for the Holy City. The Security Council was called upon to take measures necessary for the execution of the Partition plan.

The war that followed the British abandonment of its League of Nations mandate and the proclamation of the independent State of Israel on May 15, 1948, prevented the UN Partition Commission from carrying out its task. In an effort to stop hostilities the General Assembly met in a second special session on April 16, 1948 and chose a Mediator—Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, murdered while on his mission of peace. (The Mediator's murderers have never been brought to justice.) Among the Mediator's instructions was a directive to use his good offices for the protection of the Holy Places. The UN Conciliation Commission, established by the General Assembly on December 11, 1948, was to continue the Mediator's functions. When the report of the Conciliation Commission suggested the abandoning of the internationalization of Jerusalem, the General Assembly by a vote of 38 to 14 on December 9, 1949 spurned the suggestion, reaffirming, instead, the original Partition Resolution, according to which the Holy City and its environs should become internationalized under the authority of the United Nations. The Trusteeship Council was directed to proceed forthwith to the drafting of the necessary Statute without allowing "any action by interested governments to divert it."

The Trusteeship Council has formally notified the United Nations that it failed. Both Israel and Jordan reject the Statute drawn up by the Council after long weeks of debate at Geneva. The arms-export agreement announced at Washington on March 25 (AM. 6/17, p. 313) is seemingly to be the substitute for protection of the Holy Places through internationalization of Jerusalem and its environs. Peace through military stalemate is the latest maneuver in the politics of appeasing competing nationalism—Arab and Jewish—determined to defy the thrice-expressed will of the world community. It is understandable why Egypt refused to join the Security Council's vote of sanctions against North Korea. Israel and Jordan maintain an open defiance of the UN, whose decisions they have promised to obey. A compliance order directed at these unruly nations is clearly called for. If this is not obeyed, the UN should impose the sanctions suggested in Article 41 of its Charter.

And so the Palestine problem returns to plague the Veteran Delegate and his fellows. They cannot reverse themselves. They can, of course, officially announce their impotence to enforce their decisions and their indifference to the fate of the Holy City of (to use UN language) "the three great monotheistic faiths throughout the world." History will inexorably assess the responsibility.

What I discovered in Italy

Robert Hosford

NOT LONG AGO I met a nineteen-year-old Italian in the Rome library of the United States Information Service. His name, Venentino Venentini, was unusual, but his reason for wanting to talk to me was not—he wished to know about life in America. Like half of Italy's population, he longed to seek his future in the U.S.

I explained that I would gladly answer questions about my country, but in return I wanted to learn more about Italy. Immediately he asked: "Would you like to see the way the poor live here in Rome?" I said that I did not have to come to Italy to observe poverty; it still existed in the U.S. He was insistent, however, so I agreed to meet him two days later.

The morning of our appointment was dismal and rainy. From the center of Rome we took a bus and rode for 15 minutes to the southern section of the city. Our destination was just off Via della Ferratella. There stood a half-demolished Roman aqueduct. Despite the fact that it had lost all traces of its former grandeur, it was still useful, though not for its original purpose of carrying water to the once-luxurious Roman baths of Caracalla. Each of its crumbling arches, I found, had been boarded over and now served as a home for a Roman family of today.

THE AQUEDUCT PEOPLE

With Venentini as interpreter, I learned that nearly seventy people lived in this aqueduct. Each family shared a small, dreary room whose floor was damp earth. The five families I talked with merely lived from day to day.

In the first family were fifteen-year-old Luciano Giovarruscio, his mother, and a sister, aged three. Luciano was stripped to the waist. It was Sunday and he was washing before going to visit friends. His thin face and chest showed clearly that he was a victim of malnutrition. Though he was five feet, five inches tall, he weighed less than 100 pounds. Because he had been troubled with severe chest pains for a long time, he had gone to see a doctor a month ago. The doctor assured him he did not have what he feared—tuberculosis. But Luciano did not seem convinced.

Luciano worked six days a week as an apprentice shoemaker, getting 250 lire (about 40 cents) a day. From this he had to spend 120 lire for transportation to and from his job. No money came from his father, whom he had not seen in three years. His mother, he said, had tried to find work, without success. I learned that this family of three, which got no assistance from the Italian Government, lived on a diet of potatoes and cauliflower, eating twice a day.

Three other families I interviewed were living in varying degrees of want. All had the same meager diet of

Mr. Hosford, formerly a United Press reporter in New York, is now living in Italy and doing free-lance work. Here he lifts the curtain on a section of postwar Italian life that we perhaps think too little about—the bitter, grinding poverty of people living on the very margin of subsistence, looking to us for help and hope.

potatoes plus a few vegetables. One family could manage but one meal a day. Two members of another family slept on a narrow bed that had neither sheets nor blankets. A third member, a boy of five, slept in the bottom of a wooden closet in which were hung many dirty clothes. The fourth, a twenty-year-old girl, curled up on a table to sleep.

By the time I had spoken with the fourth family, I was ready to leave. I had seen poverty, Italian-style, and had not been obliged to go to Italy's destitute south to view it. But before I could go, an unshaven man pleaded with me to look at his home. In following him to the far end of the aqueduct settlement I had to be careful not to step into thirty or forty newly-made piles of human excrement.

The man identified himself as Luigi Scuotti, 29. "I'm unemployed like most everyone else here," he added, with a sweep of his arm to include ten other men who, with their poorly-dressed wives and children, had gathered to see what a stranger wanted from them. Scuotti's home, like the others, was one room. It was the smallest I had been in—not more than seven feet by twenty. There he pointed to a baby carriage, the main covering for which was a roughly cured sheepskin. From the carriage he lifted eight-day-old twin boys. The mother of the twins—each of which weighed four pounds—was ill and was too underfed to nurse them. The father said the only nourishment that he could get for himself, his wife and their two other children, aged two and four, was soup from the friars at the nearby Basilica of St. Anthony of Padua.

Like these charitable friars at the Basilica, religious organizations all over Italy, though poor themselves, give not only out of their surpluses but of their necessities to the poor around them.

THE PONTIFICAL COMMISSION OF ASSISTANCE

There is in every diocese in Italy a branch of the Pontifical Commission of Assistance, whose headquarters are in Rome. The PCA, as it is familiarly called, is headed by a man who has always been very close to the workers in Italy, and who in earlier years founded a mutual-benefit society for them. He is Monsignor Ferdinand Baldelli, who has set up in the Piazza Cairoli a modern organization which attempts to meet the needs of the various groups and regions of Italy—in so far as these needs can be met.

American Catholics have added their gifts to local contributions to relieve the widespread distress. Bulk shipments of more than 75,000 tons of wheat, various other foodstuffs, medicines and clothing, have been sent in the years since the war. Monsignor Andrew P. Landi, a priest of Brooklyn, is stationed in Rome to handle these ship-

ments to the PCA and to interpret the changing needs in Italy for American Catholics. He is the delegate of War Relief Services—NCWC, which is the official agency of the bishops of America for relief abroad. Most of these supplies have been purchased from the proceeds of Laetare Sunday Campaign for Bishops' Relief—a yearly collection which reminds American Catholics of their duty to the suffering people of the whole world.

The PCA help goes in great measure to institutions for orphaned, mutilated and dependent children. Its help is also channelled to a magnificent program for children known as the "colonie Estive," or summer-camp program.

Every year poorly nourished children from the slum areas and destroyed sections of Italy are given a vacation in summer camps where they receive excellent food and care. Thousands of volunteers, including members of Catholic Action and Catholic nurses and doctors, make this program possible. A continuing winter program of recreation and care is being worked out for various areas of Italy through the PCA.

Through American Catholics a streptomycin bank is maintained in Rome so that this precious drug can be supplied to the many destitute people who have been afflicted by tuberculosis. A medical board decides when the drug shall be issued on the basis of a request.

American help has also made it possible to supply PCA with trucks and cars to transport people and supplies.

Through an initiative of the National Council of Catholic Women, many hundreds of Italian families have been adopted by Catholic families here. The sending of CARE and other packages is a source of great encouragement and hope to the suffering families in Italy.

ABANDONED

Coming back to the people living in the aqueduct, that Sunday morning I learned that, in spite of these widespread efforts to relieve Italian distress, aid from organizations had not reached the aqueduct families. The brightest moment in their lives in the last two years had been occasioned by a visit from Douglas Fairbanks Jr. in 1948, when he distributed CARE food packages. To them he was more than a film celebrity; he symbolized food and American concern for their welfare.

Though they did not say so complainingly, the families told me that no CARE parcels had reached them in 1949. I was surprised by this and decided to talk with the organization's Rome office.

In Rome, CARE occupies a modern office-building in which are also housed the branches of several of its sponsors—25 American relief, religious, labor and cooperative organizations. The mission chief is Geoffrey P. Baldwin, 57, who served as a brigadier general in the War Department in the last war. Retired from active duty in 1946, he has headed the Italian CARE mission since it began in June of that year. I soon discovered that his heart had not been hardened by routine operations.

General Baldwin knew of the "aqueduct people." The families had been correct in saying that they received no food or clothing packages in 1949. This, he explained, was

due to the fact that the aqueduct dwellers were not known individually to donors in the U.S. Also, they were not listed by CARE sponsors who maintain staffs in Italy. (Only 10 per cent of CARE packages go for "general relief"; the rest are sent by donors for specific friends and relatives. For the distribution of the "general relief" packages CARE obtains names from lists of needy families which sponsor-branches in Rome prepare for their own use. The aqueduct families were not on any list.)

"That they have been overlooked in 1949 is not strange," said Baldwin, "when a person knows, as I do,



that in the Rome area alone at least 200,000 people are living in buildings that should be condemned, in old Roman ruins and in caves." He told me that if I would return on the following Tuesday a jeep would take me and some baby packages to the twins whose plight I had described.

At nine o'clock on a morning early in December, I returned to the "aqueduct people." The sun was shining that day, but it was soon

evident that these families need more than sunshine. On finding the father of the twins, I learned that they were not there to receive the layette and food packages. Five days earlier one had died. The other and its mother had been taken to the hospital.

A CARE interpreter who was better adjusted to such Italian misfortunes than I said that under the circumstances the packages ought to go to another family. I suggested a mother I had met the week before. But, while this one was receiving the layette for her month-old child, a second woman begged for the other parcel, the one with the baby food. This mother—one of the most emaciated I had seen—was given the carton of food to feed her three young children.

THE CAVE DWELLERS

To distribute the two remaining packages we went to another settlement of Rome's 200,000 destitute. These families lived in caves near the Tiber in the northern part of the city—holes half way up a nearly perpendicular 100-foot embankment that overlooked a street called Viale Tiziano. Some of the caves had paths leading to their entrances; others had steps cut out of the earth. The caves themselves were about the size of the aqueduct homes. While drier, they seemed to house more flies.

In the first cave I entered, a five-month-old baby lay on the bed. On her face I counted eight flies. I couldn't begin to count the number on the walls. The mother, aged 26, said the baby was one of her twin girls. The other was being held by a six-year-old daughter who was sitting on a chair. A fourth girl was four years old. Though the mother said all the children enjoyed good

health, the twins were ghastly pale. To keep her family alive, the woman did housework in a more prosperous home, getting 100 lire (about 16 cents) for each day she was employed. On the days she worked she had to leave the children alone.

One food package went to her, the other to a neighboring cave-dweller who had a child less than a year old. The second woman's husband was employed, but it was evident that she also belonged to Italy's poverty-ridden.

I have cited my experience with CARE neither to eulogize nor to show how it operates, for Americans interested in Europe's poor know it well. Instead, I have mentioned CARE to illustrate a hard fact: there remain in Italy hundreds of thousands whose housing and diet shocks any American who gets off the beaten path. My observation is shared by American newsmen and administrators of relief organizations. A story carried by the *Christian Science Monitor* on September 12, 1949, pointed out that 40 per cent of all Italian families live on a weekly income of less than \$10.

THE MIDDLE CLASS

It is not only Italy's very poor, either, who can hardly make ends meet. The middle class is also hard pressed when it comes to providing more than just food for their families. In reality the distinction between the two classes is more social than economic.

A specific case is that of a certified public accountant discovered in a survey made last fall. In the United States such a man would probably make a good income. The Italian CPA was earning 40,000 lire (about \$60) a month. To support his family, he spent a minimum of 21,000 lire on food, leaving about \$29 for everything else. And a decent suit costs as much as that CPA earns a month; men's and women's shoes cost the equivalent of \$10 or \$12, and shoes for children cost around \$7 or \$8.

This is only one example. All the others met during an observant stay in Italy lead to the conclusion I recently heard expressed by the Italian bureau-head of a leading New York newspaper: "Frankly, I can't understand how any but the rich Italians manage to live on what they earn."

Unfortunately, the American tourist enjoying life in Venice, Florence or Rome is not likely to realize that Italians have woefully inadequate incomes. Since the prices he pays for food and hotel room seem in line with what he is used to paying, he assumes that wages in Italy are comparable to those in the United States. They are not. The U.S. Embassy in Rome reports that the average wage is about \$1.50 a day.

Though some skilled workers make good money, even by American standards, most Italians are earning proportionately less than before the war. Wages have gone up 25 times since 1938, but prices have shot up 50 times. An American can best grasp what this means by imagining himself living on a quarter of his present income while current prices remain the same.

Italy's low wages and their deleterious effects have

not been ignored by officials in the ECA's Rome office. They have not hesitated to state that many Italians still need help from individuals in America. James Zellerbach, who headed the ECA for Italy until his resignation in June of this year, went on record as saying that Italy must have help from relief organizations after the Marshall Plan ends. The basic reason for this is that the Marshall Plan, while reconstructing the country in many ways, is not expected to eliminate widespread poverty and mass unemployment. The latter is conservatively placed at 1,800,000, or one-tenth of Italy's labor force.

That mass unemployment should prevail during and after Marshall-Plan operation is not surprising. Italy is one of the most over-populated countries in the world, and to an economist over-population means mass unemployment. Yet there is no steady supply of government aid, in the form of money or food, to help the jobless and the poverty-stricken. The Italian worker, like the American, pays part of his wages for unemployment insurance. The insurance entitles him to an equivalent of \$2.50 a week for the first six months without a job. After that he has to fight his own battle. But many of Italy's unemployed never get such insurance—for the reason that they've never had jobs. They simply can't find them.

There does exist a *Tessera di Povertà*, or identity card of poverty, which an Italian can get if he can prove that no one in his family is employed and that he owns positively nothing. (If he has a few square feet of land, he is told to get a living off of them, I was informed by a reliable source.) Even if an Italian can get a *Tessera*, it will bring him only daily soup, possibly a piece of bread, both of which he finds at a government-run kitchen. Frequently the holder of the card is not able to get enough soup for the rest of the family, or to manage transportation to one of the kitchens.

This failure of the Italian Government to provide adequate aid for its unemployed and poor is discouraging to an observer. Equally depressing to Italy's poor, however, is the change they have noted in the American attitude toward their suffering. In the past year, support of all kinds of relief for Italy has dropped to about half that of other postwar years.

Possibly relief has decreased because many Americans who were former donors believe that the Marshall Plan has eliminated the need for their dollars. That is not true. Though the Plan has done a great deal toward putting Italy back on its pre-war feet economically, there are still thousands and thousands of Italian families that have not benefited from it. I have mentioned only a few.

There is something heartening to even the poorest, however, in the type of personal aid offered by nonprofit American relief organizations with branches in Italy. Such help shows the Italian people that Americans are interested in them as human beings, not just in the way they vote. Until Italy's economy, strengthened by the Marshall Plan, can absorb many of the unemployed, and until the Italian Government can take better care of the poor, it is the kind of help that is greatly needed. Without it, hungry Italians may easily feel they have been forgotten, and succumb to despair.

Social action on a world plane

John F. Cronin

A PREVIOUS ARTICLE of mine (AM. 8/5, pp. 461-63) described the Rome congress of the Fribourg International Institute of Social and Political Sciences, which centered on social theory. The same article discussed, in addition, Pope Pius XII's address to a joint meeting of the Fribourg Institute and the International Christian Social Union—also holding a congress in Rome—and the repercussions that address aroused among Catholic students (cf. "Labor's right in management," by Benjamin L. Masse, AM. 7/15, p. 395). Immediately after the Holy Father's address, public sessions of the congress of the International Christian Social Union commenced, with the emphasis on social action.

The International Christian Social Union, like the Fribourg Institute, is a postwar product. It was founded a little over two years ago, largely as a result of Belgian and Swiss influence. Today nearly a score of countries are interested in the project of a world Catholic social-action movement.

One cannot write definitively about an organization which is still young and uncertain. Its friends must admit frankly that it is still groping for a dynamic program which would rally world Catholicism under its banner. Perhaps this is all to the good; at least the ICSU has avoided flashy aims and over-simple nostrums which might have rallied mass support, only to lead to disillusionment. When the ICSU does crystallize its aims, they will be better because of the care which went into their preparation.

At the Rome meeting, an observer might discern two currents of thought, by no means mutually exclusive, about the functions of a world Catholic social-action group. The first idea is that such a group should be primarily representative. It would be the voice of Catholic social action throughout the world. As such, it would be represented at the United Nations. It could issue statements and endeavor to mold policy in the name of its member groups. World congresses and similar grandiose projects would be instituted by it.

A second approach would emphasize educational and service functions of the organization. Its primary purpose would be to aid member countries in building up their own programs of social action. To do this, it would exchange information by publishing a yearbook on Catholic social action. The work of each country, its successes and failures, various techniques and organizations, all would be described for the purpose of mutual enlightenment.

In either case, the ICSU would not be all-inclusive. It would comprise special-function groups, such as unions, employers' organizations and farmers' associa-

Father Cronin, assistant director of the Social Action Department of NCWC, here discusses the second of two international social organizations whose conventions he attended in Rome last June. His competence in this field may be judged from the review of his recent book, Catholic Social Principles, on page 627 of this issue.

tions, as well as general groups such as the NCWC Department of Social Action or the Canadian Sacerdotal Commission on Social Action. Also included would be organizations with specialized techniques, for example, the many variants of Jocism. Presumably all member groups would be Catholic. However, the requirement that this Catholic affiliation be formal and explicit might exclude many of the Christian labor unions in Europe. These are predominantly but not exclusively Catholic.

Such is the general background for the Rome meeting of the ICSU. The ICSU has made definite attempts to achieve the objectives outlined above. It has sought to be both a representative and an educational union of world Catholic action. Thus far, it has been somewhat narrow in its definition of a Catholic group, with the result that some predominantly Catholic labor organizations have been uncertain about their status. In general, however, its program has been quite ambitious.

Our typical observer, aware of the broad aims of the ICSU, would probably have been disappointed in the Rome meeting. He would have been struck by the relatively small attendance, especially in view of the assertion that nineteen countries were represented at the meeting. There were a dozen or so at the executive board meetings and from twenty to thirty delegates and spectators at the general meetings. Allowing for multiple representation from some nearby countries (ten delegates were permitted for each country) and for the spectators, it would appear that either attendance was desultory or that many countries were not represented by their own nationals.

Another notable lack was employers' representatives. One or two were occasionally present in an observer status. But the vital question of labor participation in management was debated with no effective voice from the side of management. Likewise, there appeared to be very little liaison with the scholars of the Fribourg Institute who met earlier in the week in the nearby Cancellaria. A few delegates attended both meetings, but their only general contact was in the papal audience.

In spite of the rather disappointingly small attendance, however, the congress was notable for the presence of some well-known personalities in the social field. The venerable Gaston Tessier, president of the Christian trade unions (CFTC) in France, and also president of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, was very much in evidence. Likewise, there were Ferdinand Storch, president of the Italian Catholic labor group (ACLI); August Vanistendael, of Holland; the dynamic young Michael P. Fogarty, representing English Catholic workers; and the world-renowned Professor Alfred

O'Rahilly, of the University of Cork. At a *soirée* held during the conference period, Cardinal Pizzardo addressed the congress with an inspiring message.

Here clearly was the raw material for great things. Everything appeared ready: the time and the occasion, the world picture, the quality of the delegates, a firm grasp of needs, and the broad outlines of the program necessary to meet these needs. Even the externals of a good meeting were well handled. Speeches were translated and distributed in advance, and an excellent interpreter translated the discussion into as many languages as was necessary. Yet, somehow, the congress fell short of greatness. Several of the delegates were concerned about the future of the organization. Something important apparently was lacking.

To the present observer, one of the key difficulties appeared to be premature emphasis on the first of the two main functions of the organization. The group acted as if the ICSU were the long-established world representative of Catholic social action, although in fact it is a young and unstable organization. In the executive and business sessions it was decided to appeal for certain liturgical privileges: a feast of Christ the Worker, and the addition of "Mary, Queen of Workers" to the Litany. A mass pilgrimage of workers to Rome in 1951, on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, was projected. There was considerable discussion about achieving consultative status with the UN, especially with the Economic and Social Council. In the public meetings there were sessions devoted to colonial economic problems and to the question of displaced persons and expellees.

It could well be argued that a comprehensive program is necessary to attract new members and to inspire greater efforts from existing members. Yet, one somehow received the impression of a child attempting to run before it is able to walk, or perhaps even to crawl. Ambitious resolutions were passed, but there was little detailed discussion about the methods for implementing them. A very wide field was covered superficially, but there was not time for a thorough treatment of any single topic.

These points were made, delicately but forcefully, by the brilliant English delegate, Michael P. Fogarty. He pointed out that an organization of this type can be really representative only to the extent that it has vigorous backing from the social-action movements in the respective member countries. This backing depends in turn upon two situations: the existence of strong movements in various nations, and their conviction that the ICSU is rendering them a continuous and worth-while service.

Mr. Fogarty's recommendation was, in effect, for a reversal of emphasis in regard to the two main functions of the ICSU. He felt that it should be, at least for a time, primarily educational and inspirational. There should be studies of current social-action work in various countries and an exchange of ideas among these countries. This work should be continuous, not merely confined to

annual meetings. In this way, coordination could be fostered and the work of social action stimulated in many lands.

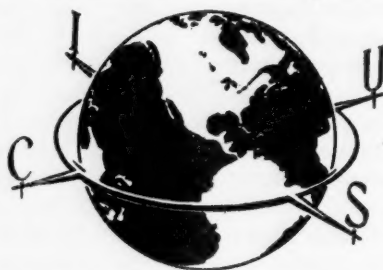
If this course were followed, the vigorous internal activity of the ICSU would both attract new members and intensify the allegiance of present members. Such a policy could lead to detailed, carefully worked-out studies and projects, which in turn would create wider interest and stimulate effective action. Mr. Fogarty noted as a model the Malines study union, which concentrates upon a single topic, interchanging ideas among experts throughout the world until a fairly definitive document is prepared. He mentioned as a possible topic the widely debated subject of co-management of business by both capital and labor.

This last topic illustrated to the present observer another field in which improvements could be made in the ICSU. The subject of co-management was discussed in both congresses. At the Fribourg Institute gathering, the general attitude was identical with that given in the Holy Father's message: labor does not have an intrinsic right to share management, but every means should be explored to bring about the highest possible degree of partnership. By contrast, the social-action group (prior to the Pope's message) had been stressing the right of co-management.

The obvious conclusion reached after the meeting is that there is need for greater coordination between the scholars and the men of action, to the benefit of both groups. In the present case, paradoxically, it appeared that the scholars were discussing the subject realistically, whereas the men of action were perhaps too theoretical and impractical. In Rome, as elsewhere, the psychological obstacles to such cooperation were evident. People immersed in social action tend to consider scholars as dwellers in ivory towers. Scholars interested in concrete problems find that "practical men" often lack perspective. The latter are so engrossed in the actualities of the moment that they overlook lessons of history or experience in other lands. Moreover, reformers tend to stress ends rather than means. They often act as if laudable aims would automatically realize themselves.

One should not minimize the difficulties of achieving fruitful discussion between such diverse groups as social scholars, labor leaders, action groups, farm representatives and government officials. Psychological barriers are often stronger than language barriers. But the blessed harmony and organic unity sought by our Catholic social ethics will not be achieved until such disparate mentalities can be brought into some form of coalition.

The net impression left by both meetings, however, was one of satisfaction and pride. One could hardly meet Catholic leaders from so many countries without being struck by their earnest and competent striving for the truth. Interpretations differed, but all were faithful to the guidance laid down in the social messages of the Popes. With such leadership available, the future of Catholic social thought and action should be bright.



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Highballing

This is America, this silver train
Jingling across the land from East to West,
Ocean to ocean, woodglade, farmlands, through
The smoggy cities, gliding round the hills
To labor slogging over the horny spine
Of continent onto flat desert. There
Mirages shifting shimmer and the far
Red mesas lift against unfathomed blue.
This is America, streamlined and swift,
And see, as the roadside changes, faces, too,
Are changed.

East, where the wild blackberry loops
Festoon the right-of-way, the gangs are white.
They lean upon their picks as cars streak by;
They rest their shovels, standing back to wave:
"Go on, America." Then westward to
The big old Muddy, roiled and yellow river,
Where road crews are black, as black as soil
Of lush Missouri. Hear them singing. Beauty
Natural in them expressed, their songs
Deep as their hearts. Here where floods have nibbled
They make safe the way, but pause this instant—
Their muscles sleekly shining through torn shirts.
From here one time, not quite a century
Ago, the Chinese coolies built the beds
Across the nation's ribs and The Divide.
Their skin was saffron and their eyes aslant,
Their speech like little sliding zither tunes.
Through dusty saffron prairie, through the salt
Of desert, coolies forged a trail of iron
To follow to a dream. Once more the soil
Is changed, grown darker, sterner, ruddier.
Yes, wash the windows, Albuquerque, so
We will not miss the faces—copper, strong.
The straight black brows, the black hair bound around
With a bright band. The Indians' level eyes
Watching the train, reading what symbol there?
The thoughts behind dark eyes are long and hide
Inscrutably as mesas in the distance.
Their powerful bodies lithe and indolent,
They speed the train that hurtles to the West.
Now near the milder sea the faces hold
An olive cast. The road crews lean upon
The same old picks, the battered shovels, too,
But speech is blurred, soft as southern wind—
Buenas dias—moth-wing castanets.
A crimson flower bobs from ragged brim,
And laughter flashes whitely, hands take up
Where language fails.

America,

You've come a long hard way. How many hands
Have built the roadbed—white and black and yellow
And red and olive. Hands portray the man
And nation. History is made by hands.
Across three thousand miles, a proud train:
Across a continent . . . three centuries,
America! By hands, by these same hands.

DOROTHY MARIE DAVIS

LITERATURE AND ARTS

Renunciation

The ear, the sentry of the soul,
Exacts from air incessant toll.

Equally dutiful, the eye
Arrests whatever passes by.

Brother hand and sister mouth
Join them in searching north and south

For truth. The unassuming nose,
So seldom praised except in prose,

Gathers its taxes, publican
Serving as well the core of man.

Only the soul, that hidden king
To whom the bowing senses bring

Such riches, can assess their worth
On scales too delicate for earth,

And leave them, with a wise disdain,
To molder in the wind and rain

FRANCIS BARRY

Wandering airs

What cloud-ravine, what sun-sheer precipices
Or cool-washed hills of whortleberry blue
Had loosed this emanation that so stole
Upon the sense, wavered, returned, withdrew
Like choicest airs transmuted into scent?
At last I found both player and instrument—
It was a lime-tree in meridian blow,
A palely tasseled lime-tree, darklier tasseled
By swarms of bees. Their multitudes of kisses
Were one, of some rope-laddered Romeo
Perilously swung against the crystal-castled
Zenith of joy, and sucking forth the soul
Of summer.

If any wandering wafts at all
Can pierce the dead with sudden sharp desire
For the fair earth they loved their tithe of time,
I think such longing wakens after fall
Of passionate rain followed by passionate fire
And heart's abandon in the full-flowered lime.

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CATHOLIC SOCIAL PRINCIPLES

By Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S., Ph.D.
Bruce. 803p. \$6

This is an excellent and very valuable book. Father Cronin, recent author of a good text on economic analysis and of a study of Catholic social action, now examines American economic life in the light of Catholic social teaching. He has succeeded so brilliantly that I find it a real pleasure to urge that every intelligent Catholic, both cleric and layman, read the book soon.

The book has three sections: 1) the teaching of the Church on social matters in general, with an exposition of false social philosophies; 2) the specific application of that teaching to the problems of capital, labor, property, the functions of Church and State in economic matters; 3) a presentation and evaluation of some schools of social thought among American Catholics. Each chapter of the first two sections begins with extensive quotations from all the important papal documents (and others, too) treating the subjects covered in the chapter. A valuable feature of the book (close to 170 pages) is the inclusion of quotations, often from sources not available in English, and in an arrangement certainly not otherwise available. The worth of this feature will be evident to all interested in learning or teaching just what the Popes and various groups of the hierarchy have written on social problems. Father Cronin adds an analysis of the principles and the historical and current situations to which they apply. He is careful to distinguish traditional teaching from his own thinking on controverted points. His careful combination of history and current facts with solid moral principles and problems shows the fruit of his eight years' work on the book.

Section One reviews the history of the socio-economic problem since the Middle Ages, and the impact thereof on community, family and individual. The Church's concern with the problem rests on its obvious moral implications, and is mirrored in the series of encyclicals and Church-sponsored programs of action. Emphasis is given the obligation to accept Church teaching in socio-economic matters pertaining to morals, but one could wish that Father Cronin had distinguished between the types of assent, and the motives therefor, due to the different objects of that teaching. The chapters on the social virtues, justice and charity, are superb, as are those on individualism, collectivism, and especially on the papal program or the so-called Industry Council Plan.

The last-named is the most up-to-date and practical presentation of oc-

BOOKS

cupational organization this reviewer has seen. As with so many chapters in Father Cronin's book, the reader can read only that and feel confident that he understands the issues and the problem. Whether the proposed Industrial Councils should concern themselves with prices is very much controverted. Our author fairly gives the reasons for the affirmative, and then for the negative, which he favors. However, while recognizing Messner's distinction between controlling and fixing prices, Father Cronin thereafter writes as though there were no such distinction. Later, when he speaks of the need for some planning in business (p. 395) and the dangers of unfair competition (p. 505), he seems to show precisely why prices must be within the Councils' field of competence. That does not mean fixing, nor need it even mean control, if prices can be satisfactorily self-regulating. The principles of autonomy and subsidiarity should apply here as elsewhere.

Section Two includes many specific problems about which Father Cronin's own analysis and reasoned opinion show to good advantage: legitimate profits and the wage contract, prices, sharing profits and/or management, wages, union rights and obligations, distribution of property, etc. He handles such ambiguous terms as "capitalism" and "the welfare state" with admirable wisdom, and his exposition of the role which the Church's clergy and laity should play in social reform is compelling.

Section Three includes a most helpful summary of Msgr. John A. Ryan's teachings, and a most fair analysis of the positions of Father Keller, Father Furfey's followers, *Integrity* and the *Catholic Worker*.

There are inevitably a few points—perhaps concerning profits and high salaries, the right to a job, women's wages—on which readers will either disagree or wish for a more extensive treatment. In each case, however, they will read whatever the Church has taught on the subject, and the fair proposal of the problem along with the best arguments pro and con.

Author and publisher have collaborated wonderfully in including in the text substantial reference to the papal address of June 3 of this year. This reviewer had a copy of the book within a month and a half of that date. The annotated bibliography is up-to-the-minute, extensive and well-rounded, almost a norm for what a good social

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library should have. The correlation of references to authoritative pronouncements provides us with an index for commentaries thereon.

Father Cronin has produced one of the most valuable books of our time. It should find a place on every educated person's bookshelves.

JOSEPH B. SCHUYLER, S.J.

He-man whimpering

ACROSS THE RIVER AND INTO THE TREES

By Ernest Hemingway. Scribners. 308p. \$3.

The "great bronze god" of American fiction for so many years has definitely lost his sheen in this utterly trivial book. His name will still carry, of course, and some critical puffs (in addition to winds of wide popular acclaim) will fill somewhat the sagging sails, but I believe that the barque of Mr. Hemingway's genius is here like the famous painted ship upon the equally painted ocean.

A battered old professional soldier (he is all of fifty and filled with self-pity enough for a doddering ancient of eighty), takes a vacation in Venice to go duck-shooting. There he meets a beautiful girl of eighteen or so. He spends his time with her mainly in talking, though there is enough furtive love-making to remind us that Hemingway is the author. And what does he talk about? The glories of duck-shooting, the bouquets of various wines and champagnes, the merits of various cities, and above all, the stupidity of soldiers (particularly of all high commands, but especially of the British), the ignorance of war-correspondents and of his own exploits in battle.

That's all. After he has talked himself out, he dies on his way back to his outfit. The title, by the way, is taken from the statement attributed to Stonewall Jackson when he knew he was fatally wounded. It seems almost irreverent to lift the lovely words from the dying lips of a military leader we know to have been a very religious man, and put them in the mouth of a disillusioned, cynical and lecherous egotist.

Hemingway, to be sure, still has some of the old touches for which he was laudable. There is the sense of human fellowship, especially that of men under stress and agony. There is the bitter realization of the futility of war and an appreciation of the winning beauty that does dwell, even heartbreakingly, in material things. But all these traits are here subordinated to an unmanly atmosphere of griping and whining. The Colonel is a beaten man from the start of the book, and he knows it—and so does the reader.

It's extremely interesting and instructive to compare the Colonel in this book with the Ernest Hemingway who emerges

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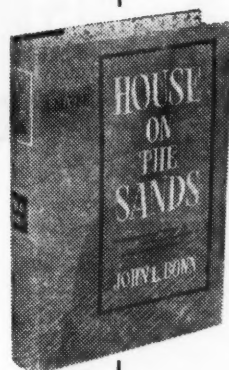
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in the classic "Profile" recently published in the *New Yorker*. If they are not kindred souls, I miss my guess. In that "Profile," by the way, it seems to me that Hemingway, despite all his bluster, was not at all confident that this book had come off. It seems that, in the very writing of it, he was laying the groundwork for excuses for the failure.

If this turns out to be his last book, he will surely have gone out not with a bang, but a whimper.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

Who's to be boss?

THE NEW FEDERALISM

By Samuel Seabury. Dutton. 311p. \$5

At one point in his book Judge Seabury criticizes the plans of the Guild Socialists as "reflections not of the actualities of life, but merely of the speculations of their authors." One wonders if the same statement could not be applied to his own schemes for political and economic change as outlined in *The New Federalism*.

What the Judge seems to be aiming at is a divorce of what he calls economic sovereignty from purely political sovereignty. The Government as such, he believes, should no longer have the right to intervene in business affairs; democracy in the economic field would be assured by a network of "functionally" organized economic institutions, including consumers' cooperatives and representative corporations within each field of commerce.

On reading this, the advocates of laissez-faire will perhaps cry triumphantly: "This is what we have been saying. Get the Government out of business!" This, however, is not what Mr. Seabury believes. He says, for example: "Nothing herein contained suggests that the people, either in the political or industrial sphere, should not act through their chosen representatives." Elsewhere he remarks that the Government has reduced itself to poverty by "permitting public wealth to be the subject of private ownership." That wealth must be regained by the public. By public wealth he means "natural resources, franchises and special privileges." This proposed economic system would appear to be a vast distance from the unregulated competition of unrestricted private enterprise.

It is in regard to the above suggestion that Mr. Seabury, in this reader's opinion at least, has become lost in a wilderness of contradictions. He believes that an essential duty of the state is "the preservation of equality of opportunity," economically and socially as well as politically. But he would take the powers of economic control away from the Government. His own way out of the dilemma is to define

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the preservation of equal opportunity as "necessarily within the political sphere," but such a definition seems to be a clear evasion of the problem. How can the Government preserve economic opportunity and abdicate its powers of economic regulation? How can the "functional" economic units which are to represent producer, laborer and consumer in the non-political activities of life come into existence? For the author says that the state must continue to perform the functions of the units while they exist, but the units cannot exist so long as the state "preempts" their field and overshadows them.

These are only two of the questions raised by this book which cry aloud for answers. The total effect of *The New Federalism* on this reader was to leave him somewhat like the bewildered Omar who "heard great argument About it and about; but evermore Came out by the same door wherein I went."

HENRY L. ROFINOT

THE WORD

"Everyone who exalts himself shall be humbled, and he that humbles himself shall be exalted" (Luke 14:11).

If life is colorful in our block, it is mostly due to Hopalong Cassidy, who is six years old and lives near the corner. Decked out in formal range dress with a black ten-gallon hat and sagging gun belts, he rides the side-walks on his trusty tricycle, Topper, keeping law and order.

The other day he passed me, pedals awhirl. It was easy to see that his imaginary spurs were dug deep into Topper's imaginary flanks.

"Hi, Hoppy," I called.

"Good morning, Father," he answered and was immediately lost again in the absorbing business of rustler-busting.

By the time I caught up with him again at the corner, there was a dispute in progress. A slightly larger boy was trying to take Hoppy's tricycle away from him.

"Reach," growled Hoppy in his toughest manner, waving a pair of lethal-looking tin six-shooters, "An' keep ya hands off my hoss!"

The older child just pushed him aside and forcibly took possession of the tricycle.

Hoppy was momentarily stunned. Here was a rustler who didn't seem to be afraid of Hopalong Cassidy at all. Fear dawned in his own eyes and the show was over for poor little Hoppy. He stopped being the avenger of range wrongs and became just a small boy

afraid of losing his toy. A tear slid down the side of his nose.

"You give me back my tricycle," he shrieked in anguish. "I'll call my Daddy!"

At this point I took a hand in the dispute and with a little stern diplomacy persuaded the rustler to restore the stolen property. But as I walked away I couldn't help thinking how much like Hoppy we grown-up children are.

Since the last war we in this country have felt very big and efficient and capable. We had large and well-equipped armed services, staggering production-power and new secret explosives. We hoped to keep world peace with just the threat of our power. Perhaps we still hope to do so. But let's remember not to exalt ourselves on so flimsy a foundation as these material powers. Hoppy, when his resources failed him, remembered his father. We too have a Father in Heaven. If we could be persuaded to put our trust not in tanks and guns and manpower but in God Our Father, Who alone can "deliver us from evil," then perhaps we would never exalt ourselves and never need to be humbled. So while our nation fights in so good a cause and arms itself as it must, let us all pray to God our Father for the victory. His omnipotence, when compared with our national power, makes our military might look as ineffectual as little Hoppy's tin six-shooters.

DANIEL FOGARTY, S.J.

FILMS

THE BLACK ROSE. Thomas Costain's novel is compounded of the strange, faraway places, bygone times and half-forgotten history which the screen is capable of bringing to life with a flourish that no other medium can compete with. It is very disappointing, therefore, that the movie version, produced with great care and at enormous expense, is so comparatively listless and unconvincing. Photographed in Technicolor in North Africa and England, it is a stunning spectacle. A superior musical score by Richard Addinsell is an added attraction. But its story—the adventures of the embittered, illegitimate son (Tyrone Power) of a Saxon nobleman, who becomes a voluntary exile from Norman-dominated England — is distressingly juvenile and one-dimensional. It takes Power half across the world and into an alliance with a Mongol war-lord (Orson Welles), before his latent patriotism overcomes his bitterness and sends him back to England. The hero's conflicting loyalties, how-



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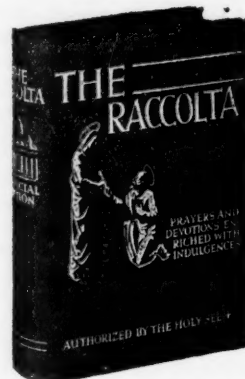
ever, seem no more than a device on which to hang his hectic but rather disconnected globe-trotting and have no dramatic substance. As a result, long before the film has run its appointed two hours, the travel-weary adult spectator is likely to wonder: "Was this trip necessary?" A child-like French girl named Cecile Aubry plays the heroine. It is a silly part, so that her talents had better be appraised at a later date. Jack Hawkins, as Power's unimaginative, salt-of-the-earth Englishman companion, and Michael Rennie, as King Edward I, impart some vitality to the proceedings. (20th Century-Fox)

EYE WITNESS. Robert Montgomery journeyed to England to act in and direct this typically British film, which is calculated to appeal also to discriminating American adults. The story concerns the efforts of an American lawyer (Montgomery) to clear an English wartime friend of a murder charge. Considering that its central situation is literally a matter of life and death, the picture maintains a very low emotional pitch. As a result the solution of the case, which lies in the shockingly twisted emotions of an adolescent girl, is an incongruous and jarring change of pace for which the director failed to give adequate preparation. This structural fault aside, the picture's leisurely matter-of-factness is well-suited to its particular point of view. It sets out to define and gently satirize the differences between the British and the American national character in general and their courtroom procedures in particular. The end-product of this fresh approach to the detective-story formula is stimulating, occasionally witty, mildly informative and admirably lacking in chauvinism. (Eagle-Lion)

MADELEINE. Because there is an undeniable fascination about ostensibly respectable Victorian ladies who went wrong, the case of the gently reared Madeleine Smith, who was tried in Glasgow nearly a hundred years ago on the charge of poisoning her lover, has occupied the attention of an endless succession of writers. The talented English director, David Lean, has now attempted to bring her story to the screen more or less factually as a vehicle for Ann Todd. While fact is supposedly the picture's justification, the director has not faced the overwhelming verdict of amateur criminologists that his heroine was a thoroughly repellent character and almost certainly guilty. The resulting portrait of the fair Madeleine is considerably more sympathetic than, considering her conduct, it has any business to be and the picture as a whole, despite excellent production values, has little life. (Universal-International)

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